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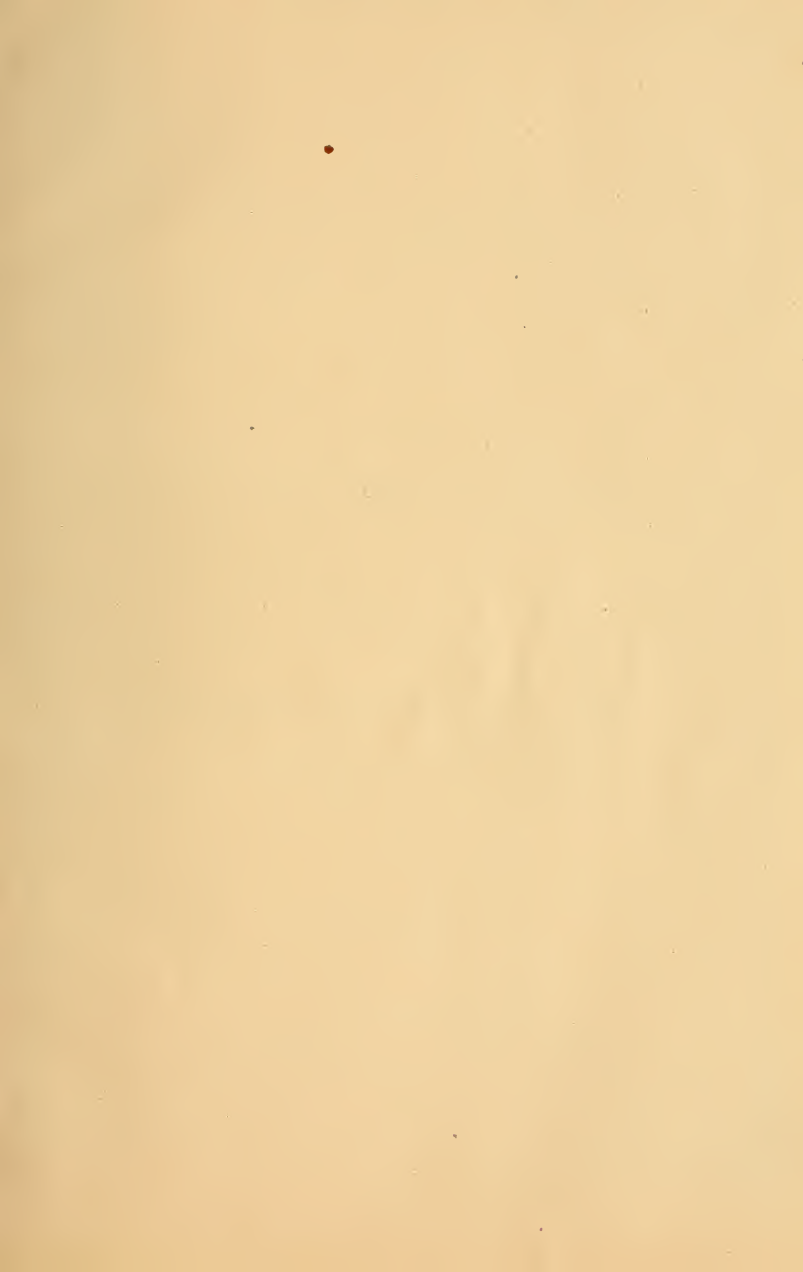
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UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.





PRICE, TWENTY-FIVE CENTS.

THE CONFLICT
BETWEEN
CAPITAL AND LABOR,

BY
DAVID RUSSELL JONES,

GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE UNITED MINERS
OF WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA.

PITTSBURGH :
Levi & Bacon, 98 Smithfield Street.
1880.

PRESS OF
LEVI & BACON,
PITTSBURCH.

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DAVID RUSSELL JONES.



“Poise the cause in justice’ equal scales,
Whose beam stands sure,
Whose rightful cause prevails.”—*Shakespeare.*

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TO THE
MINERS OF THE UNITED STATES AND ENGLAND,
AMID WHOSE FORTUNES AND MISFORTUNES MY
LIFE, UP TO THE PRESENT, HAS
BEEN SPENT, AND FOR WHOSE ELEVATION
I AM SOLICITOUS, THESE PAGES ARE INSCRIBED, BY
THE AUTHOR.

PREFACE.

THE germ from which this pamphlet has grown was my lecture on "The Rights and Restrictions of Labor," which had been prepared at the request of the Banksville miners and afterwards delivered in divers places throughout Pennsylvania. My official duties command my time during the day, and the proper prosecution of my legal studies demand my attention in the evening, hence I have not had sufficient spare hours to put as much rhetorical polish on the sentences as I would like. I have been more careful about the thoughts than about the expressions.

The second edition has been generalized, and consequently I enlarged the title from "The Mining Conflict" to "THE CONFLICT BETWEEN CAPITAL AND LABOR." The former title would not be sufficiently comprehensive to include the scope of the observations and arguments, as the remarks on labor saving machinery, and on a reduction in the hours

of labor, and thoughts interwoven with the matter on other topics, are equally applicable to any branch of industry.

I take pleasure in dedicating this pamphlet to the miners, with whose conditions and struggles I am, from experience, closely acquainted. If what I have written will do anything to elevate the working men, and put the wage population of the United States in a just light before the public, I shall consider everything well done; and with this hope I now submit the manuscript for publication.

D. R. J.

68 Grant Street, Pittsburgh,
May 1, 1880.

The Conflict Between Capital and Labor.

GENERAL REMARKS.

Capital and Labor, the two prime factors of progress, are mutually dependent, and naturally friendly; hence the present unfriendly relations are unnatural, and hence inimical to the welfare of the masses. To encourage the philosopher in his search after the causes of industrial strifes, to incite the statesman in his efforts to destroy them, and to establish the boundaries beyond which neither capital nor labor shall encroach, are duties incumbent on every sincere friend of a continuous prosperity, and public security.

The impression that operatives and operators must be continually taking advantage of one another, in order that justice might prevail, is a mischievous impression, and vastly more injurious to the operative than to the operator. Every thousand dollars capital in the United States gives work to some poor man, and sends comfort and joy into some working-man's family. I have more sympathy for labor than I have for capital; more for capital than for the bondholder, and I have more sympathy for the

bondholder than for the miserable miser that is too timid to risk a cent for developing the resources of his country.

I have no prejudice toward the rich; none in the least. I don't want to pull down the marble mansion; I have nothing against the Brussels carpet, against frescoed parlors, brilliant chandeliers, or against the polished furniture of a beautiful home, but I ask the capitalist, amid these luxuries, to be just to the working man; to pay the laboring men an equitable share of the profits accruing from the combined energies and efforts of capital and labor, in order that they may support comfortable and pleasant homes, and rear up intelligent and respectable children.

I submit to the bondholder because he is unavoidable; and if the bondholder of to-day were the patriotic bondholder of the war, instead of the speculator and trickster of the present, I would like him much better. I speak of the bond question, because it is a phase of the financial question, and the financial question is closely connected with the labor problem; as any scheme that taxes the energies and industries of a people, has something to do with the rights of labor.

TAXES.

Every dollar of interest paid on a bond, cuts off a dollar from the pay of labor. A cent stamp on a match-box is a cent from the pocket of labor, and

every license is a receipt for what labor has paid in some shape. All taxes are paid in the end by workingmen. It may be indirectly, very quietly, and very stealthily, but labor finally pays the taxes. The mill and mine owner is compelled to pay taxes to the city, state and national governments; these taxes reduce the profits on investments; hence were there no taxes exacted, the workingmen could expect, and the capitalist could afford to divide the amount in wages, in addition to what they now receive. The store-keeper pays for a license to sell, he charges a cent on this and a cent on that article, to abundantly make up the fee, and the buyer has to suffer.

The millions of interest, annually paid on bonds, is a heavy burden upon the industries of any country. Labor is the strength, the blood and the marrow and everything in society. Without labor there can be no wealth, and any law or system of laws, that either directly or indirectly exacts a cent from the earnings of the workingmen, beyond what is necessary to securely protect the life, limb and property of the citizen, is unjust and oppressive. The bonds are remnants of the war, and far be it from me to lift up my voice to condemn any measures that were used to save this great Union from disruption, and to emancipate four millions of human beings. The results of the rebellion are worth more to the human race, to its liberty and its civilization, than all the treasure expended, and the blood poured out during the civil war.

I think that we should overlook many of the financial transactions that were negotiated during the excited times of the rebellion, but we should not overlook trickery and cheaterly of speculators, who, after the war was over, went to gloat and glut themselves upon the sores and wounds of our country. It is one thing to be patriotic, quite another to be selfish.

INTEMPERANCE.

Leaving the question of taxation, I meet the question of moderation, which is a proper restriction upon labor. And right here I should write a word on the habits of drinking—habits that are quietly but surely sinking the masses into conditions of ignorance and dependence. I delight to see the basket going home brimful of good things for the table, to see the poor enjoying themselves, but I hate to see a hard working man making a brute of himself by supping the slop from the grog-shop. Don't do it. It does you no good; it does you an infinite amount of harm. It drains your pocket-book, staggers the brain, burns up the system, and worst of all it has poisoned the blood of your children, and dooms your children's children to mediocrity, obscurity and ignorance. You work hard, your earnings are scanty enough, and remember that every levy passed over the counter of a saloon is a levy less from the comforts of home. On pay day pass the saloon, shy the tavern as you would

the spot where lurk the serpent and the hideous creatures of poison and death. As the boa constrictor seizes its prey, draws its coils tighter and tighter around it until the helpless victim is crushed, so has drunkenness grasped the wage population, holds them fast, and is drifting them into conditions where they will soon become as dependent and helpless as the peasants of Europe. I warn the young and the married man that squanders the one, the five or ten dollars at a time. I warn him because he is dooming himself, because he is poisoning the blood and enervating the brains of his children, and because he is drifting the masses into a low and miserable condition.

There is nothing lost by being temperate; millions have been lost by drunkenness and debauchery. Give me the one-half that the miners of the United States have spent in gambling and drunkenness during the good times, and I will pile up a fund whose immensity would astound the nation. With that fund I could shorten the hours of labor, break down the infamous "pluck mes," forever separate the scale from the screen, and order such circumstances as would give you better homes to live in, better clothing, better food and better everything by working only eight hours, than you can get now by working eleven and twelve hours per day. You believe this: you have been warned a thousand times, and now, I plead with you to abandon that injurious course, that rut which is surely leading you into the sloughs of poverty and dependence.

I want to do what little I can to point out the danger. I hang the red lights of danger on the doorpost of every saloon, and in front plant a few finger posts to point out the road that leads to the homes of temperance, comfort and pleasure. I am trying to remove a cause that is sentencing you into the cheerless regions of poverty and servitude. Be careful of the one, the five and the ten dollar notes. If you have any to spare after satisfying the needs of home, put it into the savings bank, or into some safe organization.

ORGANIZATION.

And here I have struck the word organization, a word that comprehends the mighty power, the great lever that moves the social world. This universe is the grandest organization conceivable. Have you ever thought how wonderfully well this world moves? A thousand planets wheel through space; the sun, the moon, the earth and the stars have orbs marked out, they turn neither to the right nor to the left, but roll on in their appointed spheres. From our surroundings we can learn something every day. To get ideas of order, sit at the feet of nature. I lie under the shade of the oak, I look at its trunk, its branches, and its roots, that have crept and fastened their claws in the earth. I rise up and say, "I would like to see an organization among the miners, an imitation of the oak, its roots fastened in their hearts, its stem growing up in their midst,

and its great, long branches reaching out and sheltering the miners of the United States."

I go up to the foot of the mountain, and from under the rock I discern a little stream gurgling and running down the hill. I see a little boy trying, and failing, to float a toy ship, and I say to myself: "That little stream is too weak and of no use." But I follow it down, and after a while I see another little stream join, together they murmur onward around the pebbles and rocks; in a little while I see another, and so on, until I find the small streams of the mountain have joined to form the majestic river of the valley, bearing upon its bosom the laden ships of commerce. I paused and said to myself: "Thus I would like to see the miners of the United States organized. I would have every pit oozing out a little stream of support and power, one here, one there, and I would join these little streams into a grand river of power, that would move onward the mining population of this country into the harbor of intelligence and prosperity.

One little stream is too weak; one pit alone can do nothing—put that down as a very expensive truth, settled by the bitter experience of the past. Ask me what has led armies to victory, what has effected the greatest reforms, and I will answer, "organization." Ask me what will elevate the condition of the masses and lift up the miners of the United States, and I answer, "organization and that alone."

But the question was, is and always will be, how can men be organized? Unions have risen and fallen; like meteors, that flash for the moment, they have appeared and disappeared. Something wrong somewhere. Some pin left out that should have been put in. When I turn to the past I feel discouraged. All along the rugged road are the broken emblems of Unions, and the wrecks of leaders and labor champions. There is nothing to encourage us from the rear; we must look ahead for hope. The bad condition in which the miners live, and the worse condition into which they are surely drifting, are matters of serious import. I do not wish to discourage you, but I ought to be frank and plain spoken. As long as miners neglect or refuse to join and support an organization, so long will they struggle to rise in vain. As long as the miner would rather toss a dollar over the counter of a saloon than into the treasury of an organization, just so long will the black and muttering clouds hang over his destiny. As long as the miners of the United States continue blind to the clearest paths of interest, as long as they will not see that a dollar invested in a safe organization will pay a two-fold interest to them in wages and influence, just so long will they fail to build an organization that can do them any permanent good.

You must have money to accomplish anything in this age, and I don't care what kind of government pretends to rule, whether a republic or a monarchy,

money is a power, always was and always will be. What can it not do? It can bribe legislatures, buy congressmen, and influence presidents. More than this: gold has stolen quietly into the ranks of labor, has bought workingmen to create dissention, and by its jingle has turned the truest leader into the blackest traitor. If we expect to ever build a powerful organization, we must freely contribute a *pro rata* share of money for its support.

The Holy Scriptures say: "For where your treasure is, there will your heart be also;" no plainer truth than that was ever uttered, and if I should ever attempt to build an organization, I would make that verse its corner stone. I would make the initiation fee not less than five dollars, and the monthly dues not less than one dollar; bind the treasure with heavy bonds; get the association chartered by the state or by congress; I would have every man to stand his own, no begging, no helping one another, but every one to help himself; that is to say, if a member has receipts to show that he has paid fifty dollars into the treasury, I would pay him in weekly installments that amount back, nothing more, nothing less. I would abolish strikes for five years, give amicable methods a fair trial, settle all disputes by arbitration, conciliation, or by juries; in the meantime, organize; at the end of five years, take a ballot, and if amicable methods have not proved satisfactory to either parties, fall back on strikes and lockouts; then bring the five year old

organization with its one hundred thousand dollars for every section, to the support of the miners; attack the extortionate "pluck me," and the unjust screen system, reduce the hours of labor, and with one supreme move and blow, establish in a degree that long sought for justice, which is indispensable to the health of industry, the security of property and the contentment of life.

But I fear the miners could not wait for me. They are like children with toys, they grasp everything in a hurry. While anything is new, it is expected to accomplish wonders, but once the gloss is lost, once a splinter is knocked off by the hammer of experience, the remaining parts, however valuable, are cast away as worthless.

FUND.

We must have a fund, and a fund in which every miner is interested. I don't care how many iron-clad oaths a man takes, how many constitutions and by-laws there are, or how much he can rant for a strike; a ten-dollar note in the treasury from each member, is worth all. We want so much of the heart there—we must have the money. Human nature—a decided majority of it—is selfish, and there is no use in trying to whitewash the fact. Give me an hundred miners, each with twenty-five dollars in the treasury of the Lodge, and they will always be present to watch their money. Mark that down. They won't come to watch ten cents.

Mark that down also. An organization must have a fund, the members must have an interest there, and vastly more than they have in a saloon or a deck of cards. The fact of having such a fund would discourage any attempt on the part of the operators to impose upon you.

You may say that all this looks well on paper, is pretty to the imagination, but can never be accomplished. Yes, sir, it can; and I tell you that a fund of this kind is the only scheme that can make the miners of the United States successful and prosperous. Now, I hope that you don't think that all this money would go into unsafe hands. I would have every cent secured; I would refuse to pay a dime, unless I felt and knew that everything is as secure as it is possible for human laws to make it. So many men have been trusted, and turned out rascals and absconders, that confidence in the honesty of treasurers is at a low ebb.

The laboring population of this country is an heterogeneous conglomeration of individuals. Their jealousies and suspicions are sensitive, and easily aroused. A shrewd and unscrupulous capitalist can divide them into three antagonistic parts, politics, nationality and religion. Miners should be forewarned on these points. They have nothing to do with the bread and butter, the comforts and hopes of the family; and the man, whether miner or operator, that would attempt to divide you on these subjects, should be peremptorily hooted, hissed and put out.

There is a secure and business way of doing everything. The treasurer of each pit would have to give bonds equal to double the amount of money, and every mine should have at least two thousand dollars ready for any emergency. Suppose a pit has one hundred men, this would make it twenty dollars per capita, a year. This may seem severe, but not quite so severe as the conditions which are slowly but surely creeping and pressing around you. What does ten cents per month amount to? To nothing—not sufficient to suggest a treasurer's report.

I am giving my views, I am mapping out the plans, and if you don't go to work with a will to execute them, or something similar, I want you to remember my words, and at the close of any unsuccessful strike that may break your ranks in the future, then I want all of you to think of the \$100,000 fund that I am ardently pleading for. I want an organization that will be loved by the miners and respected by the operators. I want the organization to be a respecter of reason and a defender of justice. I want her to be the grand lifter and equalizer of wages all over this country. To boost the wages in one section alone is unjust, both to ourselves and to our operator. The price of labor should rise and fall at the same time everywhere. To allow one operator to keep a "pluck me," when the next is humane enough to run his mine without one, is unfair and unjust. Injustice is contagious,

and the unjust burden the just; abolish all the company stores at or about the same time, and the movement is fair. Demand regular weekly payment in the Kanawaha, as well as on the Monongahela; on all the state likewise, and I fail to see any reason for the operators to object. So with the screen system, or with any other system that is a palpable injustice to the workingman.

BUSINESS COMBINATIONS.

Aside from protecting labor from the encroachments of capital, an organization becomes necessary to protect the workingman from the impositions of what I may term "business associations." One of the characteristics of the age is its manifold and multi-fold combinations. From the boot-black yelling on the street, to the banker scheming in the parlor, all have their organizations. These organizations are pulling at the public dug, which, of course, means the dug of labor.

These associations are powers, and, like all other powers, they can be used for two purposes; for good or evil. They can be prostituted to the basest schemes and utilized for the noblest work. I will not say that these business associations are purely bad or purely good. They are formed to make money. They charge a shaving more for the necessities of life than they should, and to get even with them the workingmen must form associations to

charge a shaving more for their labor. Railroads combine to charge you and me more than they should for transportation; the workingmen should get even with the railroad companies, by charging more for their labor. If they do not, they will be surely fleeced. Everybody is plucking at labor. All around you are associations. You can't price a piece of beef, a yard of calico, a chair in a factory, or a barrel of flour in your store, but what has passed under the selfish eye of some association. They nibble at your wages when you don't know it. They pilfer a cent here on the sugar, a cent there on the tea, a quarter on the shoes, a dollar on the clothes—hence at the end of the year, the poor man's treasury is as empty as it was on the first of January.

In view of the fact, then, that these associations are draining their earnings, would it not be sensible on the part of the workingmen to associate to try to get a little more for their labor?

The idea that we cannot organize without taking an iron-clad oath is an erroneous idea. Get the almighty dollars together and you will find that they can infuse more sticking elements per square inch into human nature than all the oaths and the most solemn and impressive ceremonies that ingenuity can invent. The idea that an organization must be secret is another erroneous idea. Anything that is good, will not blush in the light of day, and everything bad is always out of order. Perhaps the only

reason for secret labor societies, is the blacklisting of speakers by the capitalists.

FREE SPEECH.

And here I come to the right of speech, one of the inalienable rights of American citizens. Every person should have his say, the rich and the poor alike, and no one should be gagged. Every class of men should be free to meet and discuss legitimate rights. And for any individual to attempt to abridge the rights of man in a free country, is to try to make a farce and a failure of our boasted institutions.

The miners have no sympathy with rowdism. They are peaceable, industrious citizens. Because one man in a thousand is rash, that is no reason for calling the rest murderers and incendiaries. A banker seduces and steals another man's wife, runs away with other people's money, yet because one banker in every hundred is a rascal, that is no reason why I should call the other ninety-nine thieves and villians. It would be unfair for me to lay the guilt of one at the door of all, and it is very unjust for a capitalist to spread the guilt of one over the innocent heads of a thousand.

The capitalist that would spot and blacklist a man for speaking his honest convictions, is a more dangerous man to the peace of society, than the darkest ruffian. Why? Because he is fastening

the safety valve of public opinion. As long as every thought is encouraged to come out into broad day light, there can be no complaint, but tie the tongue, and you at once beget and nurse within men passions that will inevitably disturb society.

The Constitution of the United States, the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, and the very spirit of our free institutions guarantee to all the liberty of legitimate speech and action. And yet from all parts of the country there arise complaints that individual capitalists, virtually deny their workingmen the freedom of speech. Even among the hills of this grand Commonwealth, where liberty of speech should be as free as the winds that roam and rush at will, industrious, sober and intelligent miners have been discharged and blacklisted for expressing their thoughts to their fellow-men.

What inducement is there for us to read and reflect when we are not allowed the pleasure of telling what we know? What could I do for my fellow-man; what could I do for myself, if I were afraid to speak? Nothing for my neighbor, nothing for myself, but would be as the dumb beast of burden, that is satisfied with only something to eat and some place to sleep.

The right of speech is worth everything, and I record my feeble, but solemn protest against any capitalist trying to gag any laborer, however poor or ignorant he may be. I don't care where a man hails from, whether from Africa, from Asia or from

Europe, whether you are a Protestant, a Catholic, a Methodist, a Heathen or an Infidel; what your politics are I don't care, but I want you all to have a chance to waggle your tongues and tell openly what you think is best.

Talks are telegrams from the brain, the tongue is the instrument, the nerves are the wires, and the mind is the operator. These are appliances which the Creator in His wisdom has given for the use and pleasure of men, and the capitalist that assumes to abridge the inherent rights of his employee, trifles with the power of the Creator, and the sacred rights of man. Give workingmen everywhere the freedom to meet and discuss the questions which concern the comfort and elevation of home, and the cause of secret labor societies is at once removed. I am not defending insolent and insulting language, I plead for the recovery of trampled rights. I plead for the miners the privilege to meet openly at the pit-mouth, I plead for the most ignorant and the most intelligent alike, and I plead for an unintimidated freedom of speech to the workingman, to the husband and father, who would lift up his head above the humble crowd, to express convictions that deeply concern the welfare of his family.

COMPANY STORES.

Leaving the right of speech, we will next treat of the right of labor to be well paid, to be often paid,

and to be paid in the current money of the land. And we cannot say very much upon this subject without colliding with the company store, otherwise notoriously known in this section as the "pluck me." Let us proceed at once to dissect and lay open the intentions and operations of this infamous system.

There are two kinds of company stores, one I call the voluntary, and the other the forced. I call that the forced when the miner has one of the two things to do, either he has to buy in the "pluck me," or he can't get work. In this way the operator takes advantage of the poverty of the miner. The idea of a "pluck me" was conceived in a narrow mind and hatched in a selfish heart. The intention was and is to make money in the most unfair manner. I object to kicking a man on the floor, and I object to any capitalist taking advantage of the dependency of a family, in order to glut greedy desires.

A miner comes up to the "boss" to ask for a "job." The "boss" answers, "Smith, I will let you have work on condition, namely, that you will stand to be plucked by the company store." Smith pauses for a moment, thinks of his bare home, his children and wife in need, no money; darkness everywhere, "pluck me" on the one hand, starvation on the other, and between the two there is not a particle of liberty. Smith, moved by the pressure of want, and by the holiest feelings of a father, takes the work under the "pluck me" condition; then

rents a company house, and now a miner and a citizen of a great, free country, has virtually become the servant of a master, and perhaps the menial of a despot.

His earnings are absorbed. Pay after pay comes, but no pay for Smith. If he strikes for higher wages the company store is slammed in his face, in the face of his wife and children, in order to starve him into submission. If he feels like rising up to make a plain, honest speech to his fellow miners, the fear of ejection cows him down; the blacklist and the victim "spot" are held up before him, and for the sake of home and family he dissembles, and becomes a cringing hypocrite. This is not right, and I again utter my protest against forcing men into conditions where they are virtually in the hands of another, when the comforts of home, the destinies of children, are practically measured and shaped by the schemes of selfish and interested men.

Give Smith work if he is industrious and sober. Pay him in money. Let him have his wages in his fist, break for home, and allow him and wife a chance to go anywhere to buy the best for the least money. It is nobody's business where and what for a workingman spends his earnings; none in the least.

There is at best only about one happy day in a month for the workingman. That is pay-day. But this day becomes the bluest and the blackest of all

when the "pluck me" has been busy during the month at his wages. Think of a man working hard every day in the month, in water and bad air, amid danger and darkness, yet see no money from one month to the other. What candid, disinterested man will declare this "pluck me" system just? Who will say that it is not unjust?

Abolish the company stores. I want the twenty-five per cent. tribute the miners pay on their necessities, to go to the family treasury, if only to buy some school books for the children, or a few plain pictures to adorn the apartment of home. Let us patronize some enterprising and just business man in the neighborhood. I urge the policy of an extensive and an equitable distribution as possible, of the profits from our rich resources, and I object to allowing one and the same person, or firm, to manipulate and monopolize both the profits from what we produce, and the earnings of our labor, as a policy calculated to impoverish the masses, and create dangerous financial and social inequalities among the people.

I believe in putting and leaving every man on his own merits. I don't believe in giving the company store-keepers a better chance to live and make money than anybody else. We owe no gratitude to that extortionist. Give him the same chance as any other store-keeper—no better—don't allow injustice of a "boss" and the rapacity of the store-keeper to lean against one another to pilfer your earnings.

Don't feed the forges that turn out the chains that will fasten you down to the helpless conditions of poverty.

At present the government of Pennsylvania, and the government of the United States are against us, but I wish to remind the miners of this country that we can go to work and establish a little government of our own that can effectually put these "pluck mes" down, without interfering with the State or the National constitution and laws. We can insert a smaller mill within larger to grind out justice for us. The governor of this State recently vetoed the "store order bill." He had a legal, but, I think, not a moral right to do this. But let that pass. We can enact a "pluck me" abolition law without him, jump over his veto, and abolish these stores ourselves.

Let us drive the entering wedge into this "pluck me" log, whose rotten heart is the lurking place of a scheme that has stealthily stripped the miner's home of its ornaments, made bare the floor, and nude the wall, and curtailed the life comforts of the miner's family. Let us do this by making a general demand for weekly pays, and when we get that let us desist from patronizing the ravenous "pluck me." This is the way to put down the company stores, without the consent of the governor of Pennsylvania, or of the president of the United States.

But while we are paid monthly we can't do

this. To allow the "pluck me" to have a quiet and uninterrupted possession of our earnings for thirty days, is to throw away our only means of defence. At the end of the month there will be nothing left for "mother," with which to buy elsewhere. Next month the same. And thus the chain of poverty becomes endless.

WEEKLY PAYS.

Weekly pays would keep the family treasury supplied, and I should judge that a little cash in the purse of a good wife is about the best investment a poor man can have. She can make cash go one-third further than credit. Fierce competition in town stores compels the most and best to be sold for the least. But the "pluck me" will continue to pluck twenty-five per cent. more for everything, though there be a thousand stores around selling for twenty-five per cent. less. The clashes of trade have no effect on the company store. The miner cannot help himself—he has no money to go elsewhere—hence must stand the fleecing.

Enterprise also favors cash. Many articles of food come to the door at twenty-five per cent. less, but the victim of the "pluck me" is helpless. The trials of some are the triumphs of others. Sheriff sales often occur. Many articles that are necessary for the comfort and beauty of home, can be bought at half price. Bargains are the rule. But what is

the use? The wife of the miner has no cash. Where is it? Didn't her husband work last month? Oh, yes! hard every day, went in before the mules in the morning, came out after the mules in the evening; but when pay day came, there was little or no pay left by the company store. Hence the wife has no money, the bargains lost, and with them perhaps five or ten dollars lost to the family.

Now suppose pay comes every week. The good wife would have gone to town. She would have been at the sale and brought home with her ten dollars' worth of things for five; five dollars saved for home, five dollars saved for the family, and five dollars' worth of labor to lighten the miner's toils.

Then a little cash at home makes the "old man" feel independent. Cheer glows on the face of "mother" when she is conscious of a little stowed away in some corner ready for the chances of to-day or the rains of to-morrow. But when the "pluck me" runs the purse-strings of home, the old folks are gloomy, many a little comfort is denied, and the aspirations of youth are chilled and blasted by the poverty and dependence that the company store has slowly brought upon the families of the poor.

Demand weekly pays, free stores, and free speech. Impositions that are tolerable in prosperity, grind, pinch, bleed and become intolerable in adversity. Let us not slumber during the day. The hard times will come again. "The pillar of cloud by day and fire by night," will not forever remain over the

industries of our country. While the good times last it is to the interest of the operator as well as the miner to establish justice. It will sweeten the burdens of the present, and temper the madness of the future.

There are too many cunning schemes rifling the pockets of the poor, and too many shrewdly gotten up systems draining the energies of industry. While these are allowed to quietly draw and conduct an unreasonable proportion of the profits into the pockets of a few, the many, or the people at large, are losing, and the laboring masses are steadily drifting into conditions of poverty, ignorance and servility. There are social tendencies busily at work degrading the masses. Home is being stripped of its ornaments, the table shorn of the meats and fruits that a rich and free country could spare for all. Parents are obliged to rear up their children in the mine and factory; and exhausting them by premature labor, their mental and physical powers neglected and dwarfed; the poor man's boy is growing up to become an irresponsible citizen, and the poor man's girl to become the mother of debility and mediocrity. Let us securely brace ourselves against these illegal and dangerous tendencies.

SCREENS.

And next the screen imposition. I cannot imagine what the miners were doing when the operators

were introducing the present system of weighing the coal. Were they blind to the "true inwardness" of this imposition, or were they powerless to defend themselves?

An ingenious system is more profitable to the operator than a low wage. That is to say, if he can ostensibly pay you a high wage, and by a cunning device, whose workings are not clearly seen nor directly felt, he can realize more profit, more than he could by a direct and open process, he has the advantage, about the same as the robber has over a drugged man. There are many schemes at work to-day, whose success depends on their indirect and secret operations. Were the company to call at your door on the last day of December, to extort from you in a sum what it has extorted from you quietly and by degrees during the year, you would not tolerate that institution another day. But because the "pluck me" bleeds you slowly, you permit and support it handsomely. Just so with the present system of weighing the coal. We don't know how much we are bled by its operations. We have an idea that a leech is fast to our earnings, and perhaps we imagine that it is drawing more than it is, because we don't exactly know how much it does draw.

Indirect methods are more or less deceitful. The workingman should insist on having everything plain, simple and direct. A low price is straightforward, it shows what it is on its face, but a high

price over a cunning scheme is a blind and a snare. Be suspicious about a change in the method of ascertaining the amount of your labor. The miners are too much infatuated with high figures. They should first go to work to cut those little pipes that are hidden to secretly sap their earnings. What benefit is a good wage when some ingenious system returns about one-half of it into the hands of the capitalist? The public is deluded, people look upon the surface; they have not time to study the mysteries and the wily workings of a certain industry.

The principal objection to the present screen is the width between the bars, which is one and a half inches. Of course the "boss," in addition to this very frank manner of reducing the weight, will tax his ingenuity to have the screen constructed as to its size, shape and slant to give the miner's coal a "good shaking up," in order to send through the bars as much nut coal as possible. The more the better for the operator, as the miner is not credited with a nut of this merchantable coal.

Nor is this the extent of their ingenuity. You all know with what certainty a thing is broken by a tumble or a fall down stairs. Not satisfied with a "good shaking up" of the coal, a few of the operators have their screens divided stair-like, so that the heavy lumps, in falling from one step to the other, might be more completely bruised, the corners knocked off, and the knocked-off corners, of course, are expected to run through the screen into the nut

coal boat. And besides the steps, the bars of each succeeding division are so arranged that they are not in line, but sufficiently in line, however, to effectively catch any stray "chip" that may be disposed to follow a larger "chip" into the digger's pan.

These screens, so far as I know, are used by only a few, but their use by a few may force others to adopt them for self-protection. The unprincipled among the operators, sometimes force the just and the magnanimous to resort to means that are neither sought nor approved of by reasonable capitalists. The operators pay, for instance, the three cents and a half per bushel, but put the screen to subtract one cent, and really the miner would be better paid at two and one-half cents with slack, nut and lump coal weighed than he can be with only the lump coal credited.

Now it seems to me the miner ought to have a share of the profits from all the merchantable coal he mines. A bushel of nut coal costs as much labor to the miner as a bushel of lump, it is also a source of profit to the operator, perhaps at present a richer source than the lump coal. And, be the profit great or small, a portion is due to the miner, and a sense of justice, if nothing else, should prompt the master to hand over what of right belongs to the servant.

The Commonwealth of Pennsylvania has endeavored to check this screen extortion. The law,

which created the legal right for the miners to employ and keep a check-weighman on every tipple, has made it obligatory on him "to see that the miners are correctly credited with all merchantable coal mined by them." But this law, like many others that have been passed only to silence the clamors of the dissatisfied, is totally defective. Human laws are, at best, very imperfect, but the imperfection of this law is sufficient to create a doubt concerning the sincerity of the legislature that enacted it. I can see neither humanity nor justice in passing laws to protect workingmen, accompanied with embarrassing provisos, destroying their very intention, and with no penalties to enforce their execution.

But the existence or non-existence of a statute law does not alter the just obligations which are morally binding on reasonable beings. Our social system would indeed be hopelessly depraved, were each citizen to do his duty to his neighbor only from the fear of the law and its penalties. Without any statute law, the miner has the right to see his coal justly weighed, as much so as any person has to see his sugar weighed in a provision store. And the fact that the commonwealth has been obliged to enact laws to enforce this natural right, proves that some of the coal men have not uniformly respected the natural rights of the miners. The fact of the commonwealth commanding the check-weighman to see that the miner is correctly credited with all

the coal mined by him, tends to create a suspicion that at some time the miner has been incorrectly credited.

Without any statute law, the miner has a right to be paid for the nut coal, but the operators disregard this right and tramp it under their feet with impunity. The legislature now enjoins them, but they continue in their extortion as though there were neither a God nor a legislature in existence. We have some of them ferociously refusing to allow a check-weighman on the tippie, and most of them persistently refusing to pay the miners for nut coal. Who is to rule? Pennsylvania, for her working people, the blood and sinews of her strength and greatness, or private corporations in the interest of a few? It looks as though the few are to reign. Right in the face of our spread eagled free institutions, our boasted liberties, our almost universal franchise, our trumpeted equal rights principle, we see rising in spite of every protest, an aristocracy as much more formidable than the lords of Europe, as the wealth and resources of America eclipse those of the old world. What is rearing this portentous aristocracy? Answer: the division of the working people at the polls. What can resist and bridle this menancing aristocracy? I answer: the union of workmen at the polls.

Could we be knit together as close as our interests and destinies are, we could soon have laws to abolish or amend the present system of weighing

coal, and also to abolish the company stores. But we can expect neither the attention of the public, nor the assistance of the legislatures until we show a determination to get and keep solidly united. While we are scattered, we are the tools of every faction, and the pets of none.

Redress must come, either through additional State legislation, or through an Inter-State union. There are difficulties in the way of State legislation. These systems have fastened their claws, and are gorging themselves upon the meat and bread of the mining population of so many sections, that for one State alone to wrest her miners from their clutches, would be to ostracise its own trade by driving it to the other States, where the operators still have the advantage of these unjust and heartless means of extortion. To ask or to force the Pittsburgh operators to pay for mining the nut coal, while the operators of the Hocking valley are permitted to have the same free, would be neither politic nor just. Just so with the Monongahela and Kanawha valleys.

The miners of these sections produce for the same markets, and any material difference in the system or price of labor in one section must materially affect the interests of the other. Hence the necessity of general legislation to remove general grievances. Either Congress must interfere, or the States harrassed by the present screen system must concert to enact laws abolishing or amending the

system, at or about the same time. Workingmen can expect very little attention from Congress until they are combined and bound together by cords that cannot be continually parted or broken by the appeals and sophistry of politicians. We must turn toward the States, and even the legislatures may be a little tardy unless the miners have an organization to goad the politicians to work.

Now, miners are not all "angels." We have a sprinkling of evil spirits among us. If the coal was measured, some might be tempted to learn the art of filling loose wagons, and a few might learn how to build arches. The dishonest would fare better than the honest, and no workingman should tolerate any system that tends to make dishonesty profitable, and that affords the lazy or the unskilful the chance to get by tricks the same as the industrious and skilful can get by hard work.

The credit of one is interwoven with the credit of a class and a stain affects the reputation of many. The miners should exact justice from all, without regard to personal, social, or industrial ties. Some miners are negligent. This gives the operators an opportunity to magnify in order to create unfavorable impressions. The rascality of an individual has often sullied the good name of a community, and closed many a generous hand against the appeals of charity.

The operators claim that they put on the lump sufficient to pay for the nut coal. This could be

done, but it is questionable whether it is or has been done. The fact of the operators persistently refusing to pay the miners directly what they claim to pay indirectly, whispers some advantage hidden in the workings of the present method. The miners should insist on having every transaction open and direct. When we see a lair we suspect a fox is near, and when we discover men clinging to a system that is not straightforward, we are apt to suspect that system. These bits of nut coal are chips from the miner's hardest toil, and if the operators had to strike a stroke of the pick for every nut that passes through the bars unrequited, aching arms and tired limbs would prompt a resolution to justly pay the miners for this highly merchantable coal.

The objection on the part of the coal men to base a mining scale on the price of iron, is partly applicable to a coal scale, based on the price of lump only. If both lump and nut coal are sources of profit to the operator, they should likewise be to the miner, Admitting that the price of mining should be regulated by the price of the merehantable coal, yet the miners should insist that the price of mining shall be based on the entire merchantable product, and not on one kind only.

A change would be profitable to the owners of coal. Many a miner, especially when cars are scarce, throws a vast amount of valuable coal into the "gob," and what should be a source of wealth to miner and operator, is lost to both because of the injurious operation of a large screen.

Miners are not conversant with the arts of chicanery. They learn by experience rather than by reason. They feel when they are pinched, though they may not clearly see the pincher. Their complaints are, in a majority of cases, the natural consequences of severe grievances. Because they never had a chance to go to college, or through some high school, where the mind can be sharpened to detect at a glance the "true inwardness," and future-reaching results of ingenious systems, that is no reason why they should be imposed upon by the more artful.

Every good citizen performs an hundred duties every day that no law enjoins. No law can compel me to stretch out my hand to help the drunkard from the ditch, or succor the distressed and the unfortunate. There is no law on the statute books that pretends to command miners to throw a bucket of cold water on the burning house of some capitalist, and yet, notwithstanding all indifferent and unjust treatment, they would be the first to battle the flames for the very operator that wont turn his hand for them without legal compulsion. There is not, at present, sufficient law to abolish this evil system, but this fact will not deter the good from endeavoring to at least approximately restore the just relations which should exist between employer and employee.

While either party feels aggrieved there can be no contentment. A restless and relentless feeling characterizes every transaction. Industrial strifes

are prolific sources of injury to both operative and operator. They blunt enterprise, and beget careless habits. Strikes benefit neither, but injure both. They do not determine anything, but unsettle everything. And yet it appears that we are not in conditions that can abolish strikes. On the contrary, we seem to mingle in some element highly congenial to them. And while we live in this insalubrious mental climate, where murky clouds hang still, and sullen storms are frequent, and until we can remove ourselves to serener, calmer regions, we must adopt means most suitable to present conditions.

We should not supinely submit to injustice. It is our duty to resist it. The mode of defence and resistance is worth serious consideration. It must be either the mental or the physical. The physical is attended with pain, the mental with pleasure; but which can do the most in the way of putting down extortion is a question yet to be determined by experiment. The mental has never been fairly tested. If a court of adjudication could be established sufficiently comprehensive to bring within its jurisdiction all the affected coal districts, with a fair trial, the miners could expect an unqualified verdict against the screen system. But the consummation of such a grand and beneficent scheme is improbable.

. . .

Then, if in the present condition of society, strikes and lockouts are unavoidable, it becomes advisable

for workingmen to organize and execute their plans on thorough business principles. The dealings of the present social system are partial to a few, and unjust to the masses. The class that works the hardest fares the worst, and the class that works the least fares the best. Some power must and will be had to eliminate what is injurious and unjust to the common people. The capitalist could do this; they have tact, influence and wealth. But what if they will not? Are the causes of the gradual impoverishment of the masses and consequently of dangerous financial inequalities, to be destroyed by the ballot while they may, or by force and violence when they must? The last is a serious, but an inevitable alternative. There can be no continued contentment nor guaranteed public security, while the present tendencies are impoverishing the masses. Panics and depression will recur; agitation is always on the alert for grievances, and watching for an opportunity to fan the stifled embers into a flame. And although agitation, like a candle, burns only for an hour, flickers and goes out in smoke, yet while it does burn, it scatters cheers and hurrahs among men that sometimes impel them dashing on to success; at other times it dies out before the point is gained, to the utter disgust of the followers, and defeat of the leaders. But, at all times, agitation can create a vast amount of inconvenience and anxiety in the industrial world.

And I maintain that agitation has as many claims on respectability as argumentation. They are two branches of oratory; the province of one is to convince, the other to move, and there is as much divinity in urging a man to do right as there is in convincing and then leaving him to his cold, cheerless surroundings. Only when agitation precedes argument it is mischievous.

When moving against the screen, some miners favor the using of forks, having the width between the prongs the same as between the bars of the screen, to fill the coal, in order to leave all the nut in the pit, and send out only such coal as would run over the bars into the weigh pan. To see men some morning thus armed with forks against this screen oppression would be a novel and an impressive sight. Of course the operators would immediately lock out, and the shouldering of a fork would be a virtual declaration of a strike.

Then would come the necessity for an union. Without union there can be no strength, and without strength we are helpless. We must have an National association to crush or cure injurious systems. But workingmen should not try to test an organization before it has bloomed its first blossoms. Let the germ have time to take root and grow up into strength and influence. Hurry has killed more trades unions than all other causes combined, and impatience has frequently precipitated unwary men into defeat, and with them saga-

cious and faithful leaders have been dragged into humiliation and contempt. Troubles will come often enough without going after them, and always remember this truth, that the true miners' statesman is he who bridles rather than he who spurs on an organization into a strike.

WAGES.

The question of wages is next in order. And in the first place it is very hard to determine the portion capital and labor each should have. The division of the profits is the point at issue. Find the man that can, satisfactorily to both, make an equitable division, and he will be the man that can settle this vexatious and destructive strife between capital and labor.

Here is a capitalist with one hundred thousand dollars invested in a coal mine. Here are one hundred miners investing their skill and strength, and risking their lives in the same mine. What are they all after? What prompts the operator to invest, what the miner to labor? Answer; the desire for happiness.

Each one has his own way to be happy. Money may satisfy the capitalist, fame the statesman, and glory the soldier. The philanthropist loves to be kind, the Christian to be good, the judge to be just; and the pursuits of happiness are as numerous and varied as the features and forms of men. I have no

objection to the operator being happy, provided he will give his operatives also a chance to become happy. I wish all, the poor as well as the rich, to have a fair show in life. And that government, or that society that does, by its constitution, distribute and scatter chances equally among all classes, is the best government, and that government or system of laws which makes or has made one part happy and the other part miserable, is the worst kind of government, and it matters not what you call it.

Now, the country in which a man lives has a great deal to do with the amount of happiness he enjoys. A farmer may grub and till on a barren soil, work until the bones in his body ache for rest, and yet that farmer cannot expect much happiness. In a country where the veins are small, slaty and deep, where there is no convenient natural wealth, in a country like this, labor cannot look for many of the good things of life.

But these thoughts are not applicable to the United States. Amid all our troubles don't forget the fact that this is the choice country of the earth. Look at the rich, black soil of the western plains, yielding more bread than we could eat, the mountains covered with pine to build homes, and filled with mammoth veins of excellent coal and iron ore. Look at the greater and lesser rivers, the net work of railroads passing almost every door, transporting, distributing and exchanging the various products. The South supplies the North with sugar and cotton,

the north returns the iron and coal. The west furnishes bread to the east, the east manufactures the clothes and the shoes for the west. This is a happy combination of resources, and in a country like ours, —the richest and freest under the skies, all could be happy. Of course there can be no genuine complete happiness in this life. There will be a tear for every smile, the black veil will always trail the ground, and the unfortunate will always wail. But we can approach the golden fountain, we can all do a little to give every one a chance to live. Fair play is all we ask. It is no fair play to take advantage of ignorance and poverty. Give every man his due, what he ought to have, not only what he can get.

Now the question springs upon us, are working-men, as a rule, happy? Do they receive a fair share of what can make life enjoyable? If not, then, in a land of plenty, there is something wrong in the structure of society. And as long as we see one class of people living in dingy shanties, and another compelled to seek the mouldy cellars of the city, just so long will we be asking the whys and the wherefores of this deplorable condition. There must be something wrong.

One of two causes has effected this inequality. Either the Creator ordained that it should be so, or the shrewd and covetous have, through the agency of governments, and by means of a long continued process of partial legislation, stealthily

appropriated to themselves, through many centuries, a very material portion of those means which nature has intended and set apart as necessary for the proper sustenance and advancement of the laboring masses.

Is it probable that the Creator has ordained a large class of human beings to live in misery and poverty, and a small class to revel in happiness and luxury? Analogy teaches otherwise. There is nothing in nature to hint inequality. The sun shines on the high and the low, and the rain waters the patches of the poor as well as the lawns of the rich. Everything in nature teaches equality. And when I mention equality, do not understand me to mean that all are equal in physical and mental capacities. There are no two of equal skill, or of equal endowments. It is impossible to find two alike. What I mean is, that all, naturally, have equal chances to follow the pursuits of happiness.

The workingman is usually satisfied when "home, sweet home" is bright with carpets, pictures, and books, when the children are well fed, clothed and educated, and when there are prospects of a little stowed away for the infirmities of age.

Now, if the acquisition of these comforts will make the wage worker happy, and these alone, he ought to have a fair and an equal chance with the capitalist, to obtain these comforts. And the only means the workingmen have for acquiring these are the work and skill of their hands. If they are not

justly paid for their labor some of these comforts must necessarily be abridged, and little by little, somehow or other, they have been abridged, until the unskilled laborers of this country are in conditions scarcely better than those of the peasants of Europe. If the rich agricultural and mineral products of this country do not decently sustain its workingmen, do not give them large and commodious houses, and ample means to rear up intelligent children, there is something quietly at work somewhere that should not be, and a detective should at once be dispatched to hunt, and arrest the cause.

The cause that creates such and so many disturbances in the industrial world, is competition in the labor and produce market. It is said that competition is the life of trade, and in some respects, it might be said that competition is the degrader of labor. Trade and labor are quite different. They perform two different functions. Labor produces; trade exchanges. Trade is shrewd, labor unsuspecting. Traders first stop competition among themselves, then endeavor to incite competition among the working people. They generally succeed, and while workingmen are fighting among themselves, they are in some gilded corner laughing and counting the spoils.

Competition in the labor market has become very disastrous to the hopes and happiness of the masses. It sets the miners of the Monongahela and Kanawha valleys against one another, the Shenango against

the Mahoning, the Hocking against the the Pittsburgh, and *vice versa*. It sets miner against miner, mechanic against mechanic, home against home, and by its cutting, shaving operations, has brought the price of labor down to a figure that will rear a generation of ignorant dependents.

For every room there are five miners, for every situation there are three mechanics, for every set of books there are ten book-keepers, and for every "wanted" in a daily newspaper there are thirty applicants. These are all competing with one another. Each one is trying to take the bread out of the other's mouth. The labor market is in a confusion, and the life of the wage worker has almost become a scramble for a job. Can't we do something to check this rush? Can't we follow up the Nile to find out the sources of the floods that have inundated our valleys and covered our hills with labor? Can't we take hold of the effect, run it back to its cause or causes and there apply a remedy?

Let us try. Here we have on our hands too many miners; too many mechanics, and too many wage workers of all kinds. This is proven by the fact that their labor is not appreciated as it should be. Men are discharged for avowing sacred principles, belonging to a trade union, and protecting alienable rights. Capitalists refuse to give any reason for this treatment, as though their men were not creatures of reason. Why is this? Simply because that for every man they "spot" there are three ready

to rush into his place. Do you suppose for a moment that the "boss" would be so ready with the black list, if miners were scarce, or even just sufficient? Oh, no! Selfishness, if nothing else, would cause him to pause and ponder. Just so in other trades. Too many men, too much labor; hence cheap, and hence not properly appreciated. What is the cause of this? Is it possible that the Creator has sent more human beings on this earth than there is room or work for? Has there been a little mistake in the count, or has three been somehow forced to fill the place of four. Either there are too many men for the work or those that are employed are collectively in some way compelled to produce, by working too hard during too many hours per day, with modern inventions, about one-fourth more than their just allotment, thereby not only overtaxing their own energies, but also barring from means of support about one-fourth of their fellow-workingmen that have equal claims on the beneficence of society, and the munificence of nature.

LABOR-SAVING MACHINERY.

The introduction of labor-saving machinery is causing some very serious effects to crop out on the surface of society. Every such machine put in operation is a stone cast into the industrial sea. It troubles its waters to its depths, and though it may only cause a ripple to sway over the surface, and

in a moment all is smooth again, yet remember that the stone is down there somewhere, and that it has surged the entire sea.

Now do not hastily conclude that I am opposed to labor-saving machinery. Wait until I am through. I am stating facts not to be winced at. Through all the mazes of superstition, ignorance and error, humanity is groping, feeling its way across the narrow plain of life. Let us be candid with one another.

The introduction of a labor-saving machine may be only a question of gain to the capitalist, but it is a question of bread and butter to the man thrown out of employment. Here are one hundred men working in a factory, and an ingenious idea flashes across the mind of one of the men. He conceives a contrivance which will, with only twenty-five men do the work of one hundred. Art maps out the idea on paper; the skill of the mechanic executes the plans, and a labor-saving machine is introduced.

Now, an inventor has just as much right to express his ideas with a machine, as I have to express my ideas on this paper. We can't, and if could, we should not try to stop men from thinking. We may prevent a man from expressing his thoughts. You may gag a speaker, imprison a writer, or stifle the new ideas of the inventor; but we have no right to use any such despotic means. They are the resorts of despicable monarchs and tyrants.

I have heard some very plain threats uttered by miners against a coal mining machine. You had better let that machine be. A man has just as much right to invent and use that device, as you have to use your tongue or pen, just as much ; no more, no less. And when you talk about demolishing that engine, you are encouraging the use of the very means that the operators are using to demolish your organizations. I have neither an objection nor one whit of prejudice against a mining machine. I would like to see one in every room in the United States. I would hail the time when every miner will go in at seven in the morning, put the machine in position to drill or bear in, turn a little wheel to start it, sit down, watch the pick slashing away, dig three wagons in three hours, fill them in the other three, go home about two, neither worn out with work nor aching for rest, but vigorous and free, eager to cultivate and adorn the surroundings of home, or to read and reflect during the rest of the day.

That is what a mining machine should do. That is what labor-saving machinery can do, and that is what it would have done for every branch of industry were it not for the grasping cupidity of capital and the groping stupidity of labor.

Every machine that was ever constructed should have lightened and lessened the hours of labor. It has not done so; hence the abundance and cheapness of labor; and hence the strifes and strikes of to-day.

Into the shops of industry, thousands of machines have been introduced within the last fifty years, driving away tens of thousands of men to seek work in other trades, only to find machinery introduced everywhere, and every avenue crowded with labor. Too much labor, hence cheap, and hence not appreciated, but blacklisted and victimized.

The complaints and mutterings of the workingmen are natural. They feel, if they don't reason. The mania for trades unions is caused by a feeling among the workingmen that somebody or something is injuring them, and that somehow they are being imposed upon. They feel that the government is too general, too far and too distant to protect them; hence they construct little governments of their own. They have to blame somebody for their troubles, and they put the blame on the capitalists. The capitalists, on the other hand, blame the workingmen. The fact of the matter is, that the mechanical advancement of the past fifty years has dragged both capital and labor into the rapids of competition.

Mechanical reform is ahead of labor reform. The republic has excessively taxed the physical energies of her laboring population with too long daily hard work, and at the expense of a serious, if not a dangerous, derangement of her industries. Machines should not have thrown any man out of his work, but simply reduce the burdens and hours of that man's labor. Suppose we construct a

machine to do the work of one hundred men with only twenty-five. You turn away the seventy-five, retain the remainder, and compel them to work ten hours as before for the same wages. Now what good has that machine done to the twenty-five retained, and what evil to the seventy-five that have been driven away from their regular trade to become wanderers, not knowing what to do or where to go? This is the experience of thousands, if not millions of men. What should have been done? I'll tell you. The capitalist, when he was about to introduce a labor-saving machine into his shop, should have called his workingmen together, and said: "Gentlemen, I expect to bring an engine here on Monday to do most of the work for you. I don't wish to throw seventy-five of you out of employment. If you will, within the next month, manufacture with the machine as much more goods, over and above the amount that you have been making with your hands, as will return to me the entire cost of its construction, I will retain you all, and, furthermore, I will not ask you to manufacture more with this engine than before, but if you can manufacture the same amount in five, six or seven hours, very well, you can then quit, hoping that you will spend the rest of your time at home, reading and reflecting."

If the introduction of every labor-saving machine had been accompanied with such acts of justice and magnanimity, every industrial establishment in the

civilized world would now be working only about seven hours per day, labor would be better respected, men would not be black-listed and victimized; labor more contented and intelligent, society more secure, and our rights and liberties in less danger of being encroached upon by a "strong government."

But capital has not done this. The desire of gain has stifled the thoughts of justice and generosity. Let us see how they have introduced labor-saving machinery. The minute the machine starts the "boss" enters the shop, calls the hundred men together, and says: "Gentlemen, I have set up a machine that will, with only twenty-five produce as much as all of you together; seventy-five of you are discharged." The men seize their dinner buckets, and mournfully march out, the thoughts of home, of wife, and children weigh upon them; "where will we find another job to support our families," they ask one another. Let us try to forget the sad seventy-five for a moment, and return to the "boss" and the other twenty-five. How many hours do these twenty-five have to labor now? Ten; the same as before. How much wages per day now? The same as before. How much can the twenty-five with the machine produce? The same amount as formerly. How much less cost to the capitalist? The difference between the price of the labor of one hundred men and that of twenty-five.

Suppose each of the one hundred was getting two

dollars, making two hundred dollars per day. Seventy-five have left, leaving only twenty-five. Twenty-five times two are fifty. Fifty from two hundred dollars leaves one hundred and fifty dollars, the difference in the cost of a day's production. Where does this one hundred and fifty dollars go? For a month or two let it pay the cost of the machine. Afterwards the most of the hundred and fifty dollars runs daily and steadily into the pocket of the firm. Of course the manufacturer will sell his products a little cheaper, to underbid firm No. 2. Firm No. 2 discovers that firm No. 1 has a labor-saving machine. Firm No. 2, in order to compete with firm No. 1, introduces one into his shop, throws seventy-five more out of employment; firm No. 3 has to do likewise, and so on *ad finem*.

But after a while competition begins to shave down the one hundred and fifty dollars, and the manufacturers conclude that something should be done to stop the competition and keep the blessings of the labor-saving machines within the golden circle of wealth. Boss No. 1, the most avaricious of the lot, calls a meeting of the rest; say ten shoe manufacturers. After preliminaries, the wage grinder rises and addresses the conclave thus :

“Gentlemen, we are here to form an association to stop the scathing operations of competition in the shoe market. If we allow competition to reign, we can't bleed the public. On every pair of shoes the poor man should pay a tax. Were we to tax

directly he would object, but indirectly we can safely bleed slowly and quietly every family in the State. We are rich and have plenty of money, but we must have more. Genius has invented for us a labor-saving machine. It is true that this machine has driven thousands of industrious workmen from their trades, and caused many a mother and child to miss the comforts of a good home, but this machine can put one hundred and fifty dollars daily in our pockets, and in the mind of the model capitalist of the nineteenth century, the considerations of humanity always sink beneath those of gain. What care we where those discharged men are? Whether they are wandering in quest of work, or earning a miserable pittance at some strange trade, is not a question for us to entertain. "More" should be our motto. It is also true that we could and should sell a pair of shoes for a great deal less since the introduction of this machine, but I would remind you that during the frosts and snows of winter children must have shoes, whether we exact two or three dollars, hence I am in favor of pinching according to the degrees of poverty, and charging the bleeding, freezing, bare-footed poor man's child about one dollar more than is reasonable and just. (Applauded.) Let us monopolize the trade, league ourselves to prevent competition, get all the labor-saving machinery possible, discharge seventy-five per cent. of our men, compel the remainder to work ten hours as formerly, and also indirectly force

them to spend their earnings in our "pluck me." In this way we can reduce the cost of a pair of shoes to two, sell the same for four dollars, and pocket the difference. (Applause.) Another serious matter. Since I have introduced my labor-saving machine, a man by the name of Smith is trying to get my men to strike for eight hours per day. I admit that the eight-hour system would be a blessing to our weary worn-out men, but it might reduce our profits a dollar or two, hence Smith is a dangerous man, and should in some way be put down. Let us call him a demagogue, buy a few wretches to dub him a fraud; hire some scribbler to lie him up as a blatant agitator and disturber of the peace, and have him arrested, disgraced, and incarcerated in prison." (Uproarious applause, during which the monopolist takes his seat.)

The above speech contains the pith of the feelings and arguments of the average monopolist.

A motion is made and unanimously carried to form an association. Another combination formed, and there is not a man, woman or child in the neighborhood but what is more or less taxed to support that ungodly monopoly. The capitalists will neither reduce the hours of labor nor the price of the article sufficiently to neutralize the effect of throwing so many men into other trades. The price of labor has been reduced by labor-saving machinery faster than the necessities of life. The cost of living does not slide with the price of labor;

when wages lower, the cost of living is always behind; when wages advance, the price of necessities is always ahead. The difference has gone into the pockets of combinations, is still going and will go while the working people of this country and other countries cheapen their own labor by working ten hours per day.

Be chary of your limbs and they will be better appreciated. The black-list and the victim "spot" can never be abolished while there are four men for three jobs.

I have no objection against the labor-saving machine, none in the least; but I have an unqualified objection to capitalists using these children of genius and skill to depreciate and degrade labor, and run society on wheels into the risks and serious possibilities of industrial conflicts. I would not legislate against a labor-saving machine, and I want this distinctly understood, but I would cordially against long hours with the machine, and I want this also distinctly understood. I am attacking the abuse, not the instrument.

Science, invention and skill should ease the tasks of labor, and add a joy or a comfort to the home of the humble. They have not done so, because wealth would not let them. Just as soon as the click of some new machine is heard, somebody hears the clink of the almighty dollar coming from the same direction. And here comes Edison with his electric light. Gas monopolies begin to trem-

ble, the days of their plunder are numbered, and science has sealed their too long deferred doom. But scarcely does the glare of the electric light glow on the walks of Menlo Park before some millionaire monopolizes the discovery, the invention and its benefits. Mr. Edison may be recorded as one of the benefactors of the age and race. His discoveries and inventions could make light cheap enough to reach the squalid tenements of the dark alleys and the mouldy cellars of the poorest in every city. Night will be made less propitious to robbery and murder; hence safer to respectability and innocence.

But in the hands of avaricious monopolies, useful inventions become the handy instruments of extortion, and what should be a blessing is turned into a burden upon the public. There are thoughts more divine than those of gain, there are feelings more sacred than those of greed, and there are aspirations loftier than those of wealth. But in the mind and heart of the average monopoly of our times, the grossest suggestions receive the tenderest attention. And yet there is no redress, nor is our government disposed to bridle the rapacity of these soulless combinations.

In the iron world the rays of genius are being intensely focalized upon a chemical process, by which an abundance of cheap fuel can be supplied from water; and the day may not be far distant when science and invention will render

unnecessary one-half of the present amount of coal used in the manufacture of iron and steel. When the use of the electric light and the cheap fuel process becomes general, millions upon millions less bushels of coal will be consumed, hence thousands of miners will be thrown out of work. These unemployed men will crowd into other avenues to make labor more abundant everywhere; the supply becomes greater than the demand, and wages must inevitably fall. Now be careful where you strike. Don't curse the genius and skill of man; don't try to mob the new machine, but move for a proportionate reduction in the hours of labor.

EIGHT HOURS.

Man has a physical and a mental nature. The physical tends to keep him down to the course and sensual, the mental to lift him up into the beautiful and pure. Both natures should be systematically developed, and where society, by its customs and laws, has overworked the physical, industrial derangement is the consequence.

Strikes are indigenous to the physical nature of man, and the probabilities of a cessation of strife, will increase as the mental obtains sway over the physical. The olive must have light as well as heat to flourish. The supply of heat is superabundant, but there is scarcely sufficient light. And as long as man is obliged to tax his body for ten or eleven

hours a day in the factory or mine, he cannot be expected to develop his mind. He returns home more eager for his bed than his book. Hence the result is that a man's physical preponderates over his mental nature. No wonder that a person of such a composition is more interested in a prize fight than a debate, in a physical than in a mental combat.

The masses should be given more time for recreation and reflection. Not an industrial wheel should turn after three o'clock in the afternoon of each working-day, and the Sabbath must be kept sacred and holy if only for the sake of the workingman. Stop the engine, stable the mules and shut up shop at three, and let the workingman go home to rest, read and reflect.

It may be said that workingman would not appreciate these spare hours. Some of them may not, but because a few abuse, that is no reason why others should be deprived of the benefit of what rightfully and justly belongs to them. There are men that spend their earnings foolishly, but this is no reason why capitalists should make serfs of human beings. What is ours, is ours to use or abuse, and if a few hours, set apart for the education and culture of the mind, can elevate the masses and thereby add to the intelligence and security of society, to pit the depreciation of a few against the appreciation of the many, would be to attack the fundamental principles of social progress.

The mind would soon begin to suggest means of

self-culture. Newspapers would multiply, books be bought, town reading rooms and libraries established, literary associations organized; the mental would keep pace with the physical, and the result will be a diffusion of intelligence in the community that would give stability and prosperity to industry.

And right here capital and labor should amalgamate, to influence Congress to reduce the hours of labor. They are both equally interested in the mutterings of the storm, which are periodically heard rumbling and sweeping over the surface of the industrial sea. The organizing and the banding together of large numbers of men are the results of a feeling of insecurity. They seek the union as a man would a lodge to escape an approaching storm. Trade appears to ebb and flow like the sea. Business booms and panics succeed each other, and men begin to regard these changes as certain.

There have been many ingenious theories woven to try to account for these tides of prosperity. I believe that labor-saving machinery is the primary cause of the fevers and depressions of industry, and that as long as men continue to work long hours with the machinery, hard will follow good times as regular as night does the day.

These strifes are symptoms of disease. They tell of some disturbing element at work beneath the surface of society. We blame men, but the person that does is short-sighted or uncharitable. Men are only puppets in the show, when a cause pulls the

string, they have to dance, strike or fight. Human nature will not run into the flame if it can help itself. These industrial conflicts are the results of industrial abuses, and the legislative indifference of the present is creating troubles and insecurity for the future. Better ward off than risk the danger of hard times. Could we check the production fever by cutting off one-fifth of the labor, we might be able to prevent, or least delay a reaction and approximate the golden means that would produce neither panics nor booms, but a continued flow of healthy, prosperous times.

The government will not forget the severe experience of 1877, and especially is Pittsburgh anxious to prevent the repetition of such terrible scenes.

Every additional rail spiked to a tie, and every wire swung on a telegraph pole, increases the nervousness and excitability of the country. Railroads, that in good times minister to the convenience, comfort and pleasure of the people, in hard times become the ministers of agitation, riot and insurrection. As in the olden times fires were kindled in succession on the hill-tops, to arouse the population to resistance, so in depressing and aggravating times, the signal for an industrial insurrection may run along the railway lines, leap from centre to centre to arouse the passions of the vicious, and the hungry half of the population in the cities, to resist the laws of the state and nation, sweep away the securities of life and property, and in one day

destroy the handsome accumulations of ten years of industry. Hatred for gigantic and extortionate monopolies, and sympathy for the impoverished masses will again stand on the side-walk, or on the brow of the hill conniving at and cheering on the furious mob. Mad men will throw oil on the warehouses; the torch and the faggot will kindle destructive fires, and elevators become sheeted in flames. In their fury men burn down what they have built, and destroy the very things they are clamoring for. Call the militia and regulars out, and they will hesitate to shoot or bayonet their fellow-men. The government will in vain appeal for men; its proclamations become farces, and an heartless machine, Congress, will be caught, shaken and rent by the agitation and violence that has been created and nourished by its own infatuation.

It may take a decade or a century to ripen a crisis, but a cause will produce an effect. Disturbances are deplorable, but they have their causes, and if not removed are inevitable. Laws should be respected, lawlessness condemned, and peace maintained, but there have happened periods in the history of nations when reason is dethroned and when the wild passions of men break down every bulwark of life and property. The statesman and patriot will not wink at a matter that has the alternative of crippling the prosperity and destroying the peace of his country.

Under our government, where reforms are so accessible to the people, timely legislation can intercept us from the severe experiences and disasters of other nations. In the past, legislation has willingly done nothing for the common people, save abridge their liberties, and violate their rights. Wealth has somehow been continually hood-winking the masses into the snares of poverty and ignorance. But in the history of the world you will find that there have been limits put upon the impositions and tyranny of the few. The forbearance of the industrial classes is not exhaustless, and when the wall is reached then truly do the majority rule. Revolution has been the past pioneer of freedom and liberty has been born and reared thus far, amid the throes of the human race.

History relates that anarchy forced the enactment of the laws of Solon, that a Roman mob begot the Tribunes of the People, that the Magna Charta was the result of an insurrection, that the American Republic is the child of a revolution, and that the emancipation of the slaves is the work of the rebellion. Legislation won't willingly do anything for Ireland nor for Russia, and may be it won't do much for the working people of even a free country. Shrewdness can impose upon stupidity, but the stupid can not be forever abused. The rich may for a while drug the poor to pilfer their earnings, but some time the poor will wake up to pursue and punish the rich.

The conditions of the masses are the effects of causes that have been quietly at work for a long time, some of them for many centuries. They are critical conditions, hence capitalists are nervous and cry for a strong government. A strong government may for a while draw tighter the chains and bind faster the fetters, but the strong man in the people will some day break every fetter as though they were only wisps of straw.

It is the same old story over. Strip all past and present political parties of their sophistries, appeals and artifices, and you will find that really all nations are and have been divided into only the poor man's party, and the rich man's party. History very clearly establishes this fact. In Sparta we see the Spartan, the rich man, imposing on the Helot, the poor man; in Greece we see the Eupatrid, the rich man, imposing on the Diacrian, the poor man; under the Roman Republic we see the Patrician, the rich man, imposing on the Plebeian, the poor man; in France the aristocrat, the rich man, imposing on the peasant, the poor man; in Ireland we see the landlord, the rich man, oppressing the peasant, the poor man; in England the lord, the rich man, imposing on the farmer, the poor man, and under the American Republic we find the monopolist, the rich man, imposing on the laborer, the poor man. The present aristocratic tendencies of our government are a repetition of former times; the Present appears to be a stereotyped copy of the

Past, and the deep rut into which the American Republic has been dragged, is the identical rut that has lead all republics of the past into ruin, and their populations under the yokes of the tyrant.

Read history. When the poor debtors of Greece rose up in rebellion against the extortion and tyranny of their creditors, what did Solon do? Didn't he order that seventy-five drachmas should pay a debt of one hundred? Did he not take a sponge and wipe out all encumbrances from the lands of poor? [See Grote's History of Greece, vol III, pages 99 and 100.] Solon, the great law giver of Greece, now venerated for his justice and integrity, did these things, which proves him to be a more extreme repudiationist than any banker has ever dreamed of. And yet Solon was "an honorable man."

Repudiation is nothing new, but as old as extortion, and while monopolies bleed the people, the horrid ghost of repudiation will make its periodical visitations into the halls of legislature. Extortion is the cause, repudiation is the effect; prevent or remove the one, and the other cannot follow. A repudiationist is not a more unnatural individual than an extortionist. The existence of the former in hard times, and the latter in good times, are equally deplorable. But that one will follow the other is as certain as punishment follows the violation of natural laws.

Read also Roman history, and notice the simi-

larity between the struggles of the Plebeians against the Patricians, and those of labor against capital thus far, and the conditions and circumstances are favorable to a completion of the parallel. Oppressive municipal taxation is gathering the fuel and drying the timber to expedite the flame. Couple this with the fact that our industries are extremely sensible to the shocks of panics. They are the first to paralyze, the last to recover. Thousands of workmen may be thrown out of work in a month. They can't save much even in good times; direct and indirect tax bills are too numerous and burdensome. Idleness entails immediate poverty; the poor become jealous of the rich, communistic ideas are forced to rise to the surface, tramps become common, labor begins to suspect that capital has been in some way imposing upon her, want and distress dethrone reason, incendiarism begins to talk loudly, and now the rashness of one man may set the mob to sack the town and burn costly buildings to the ground.

Pittsburgh is socially and financially interested in this labor problem, and more so than any city in the United States. During good times her population is contented, peaceable and patriotic, but the severity of hard times may make her people restless, riotous and rebellious. The extravagance and rapacity of past municipal officials have chained this and other cities to the helpless condition of a despairing debtor.

This fact is a serious one to the workingman, the merchant and the manufacturer. We are all interested in extracting the cities, the states and the nation out of debt. The capitalist as well as the laborer wishes no more panics, no more distress, no more riots. The security of one is the security of all, and every lover of continued contentment should make an effort to make the good times regular, cool and permanent.

This "boom" is a boost. It is spasmodic, excited and transitory. It won't last long. Everybody seems to believe this, hence the indiscriminate grab for a share while it lasts. The production from all these labor-saving machines, running almost day and night, with men working along with them as many hours per day now as before they were introduced, is almost inconceivable, is gormandizing the consuming powers of the age, hence surfeit and a reaction must take place sooner or later.

Then while we are excited, speculation revives, capitalists begin to trust one another, the credit balloon distends, its sides grow thinner and weaker, and some day when we are gazing with admiration upon the trust-me balloon floating with apparent ease and safety, it will burst and fall flat to the ground. Some great capitalist will again fail, his paper becomes worthless, the mill owner that holds his notes becomes a bankrupt; furnaces will be blown out, the mills closed, men sent home, no coal needed, hence the miners thrown out of work.

Thus with everything. Industries falling like a row of bricks, and Pittsburgh left weeping and disconsolate for her smoke and fires.

Can't we do something to lengthen out the good and prevent the periodical recurrence of bad times?

Suppose we try a national eight-hour law. What will be the effect? Let us see. Labor regulates the amount of industrial production, that is to say, the more the hours the more the production, and *vice versa*. Beyond a certain limit this statement is not correct, it having been demonstrated that a man can produce more in eleven than in twelve hours per day. But we assume it sufficiently correct for present purpose. Hence by reducing the hours to eight, the production of the country would necessarily be diminished one-fifth, provided that no more men work eight than were formerly working ten hours. To produce the same amount as ten hours it would require one workman for every four to make up for the two hours cut off from each man's former day's labor. Briefly, an eight-hour law would either reduce the daily production one-fifth, or make room for one-fifth more workers.

This process would increase the cost of production, but a rising market could neutralize the defference, if not entirely wipe it out, by raising wages by reducing the length of a day's work. If the workingmen of this country, during the ascendancy of the "boom," instead of demanding ten per cent. added to the figure of a day's wages, would hereafter

demand ten per cent. reduction in the length of a day's labor for the same figure, they would find themselves better off in the end.

Suppose the miners, after they have reached the average wages of three dollars per day, are offered twenty per cent. of an advance. What should they do? Accept the three dollars and sixty cents for ten or the old figure for eight hours?

Accept the three sixty for ten and every store-keeper, and boarding mistress in the land would be infatuated with the big price, raise every necessary twenty per cent. and your sixty cents advance is a minus on pay day. Men from other countries, hearing of your apparent great prosperity with every steamer and from other trades, would come to crowd every mine and factory, flood the labor market, and your twenty per cent. advance departs, not in peace, but after a disastrous strike.

Choose the other course. Sell your eight hours for three dollars and go home. Let the figure remain the same, but lessen the length of a day's toil, and you will neither excite the store-keeper nor tickle the boarding mistress with a delusive price. The "pluck me" may be enraged at the idea of a miner going home two hours earlier to read a book instead of furnishing the twenty per cent. extra earnings for its greed, but anything that can damage a company store can benefit a miner, and three dollars for eight hours is better than three dollars and sixty cents for ten when the sixty cents

is deducted by a raise in the necessities of life. Financially the workingman with the eight hours would be equally as well off, and socially and mentally vastly improved.

The capitalist would be benefitted. If he is able to offer twenty per cent. of an advance and the operative prefers to appreciate his labor by working twenty per cent. fewer hours for the same price than by working the same number of hours for the twenty per cent. advance in money, one-fifth of the production would be necessarily reduced, and the demand being the same, the price of the remaining eighty per cent. would rise to additionally swell the margin. If the same amount of production is necessary, the eight-hour system would give a better life prospect to twenty per cent. more men, and instead of four-fifths of the aggregate working population of the civilized world doing the work of five-fifths, thereby overtaxing their physical and sapping their mental energies, crumbling every hope for their social elevation, and mercilessly crowding out the remaining one-fifth of their fellow-men from a comfortable place and portion at the table of nature, instead of this sad spectacle, we would have every industrious worker employed at a living and an elevating wage, intelligence thriving, the number of strikes rapidly diminishing, and a corresponding prospect of industrial tranquility and a permanent social security.

But if eight hours is good, why not make six bet-

ter or four best? Now you are at the other extreme, and the man that advocates an extreme in the length of a day's work is either a tyrant or a drone. The steamer is safest midway between the shoals, and experience teaches that the golden mean is the best path of conduct.

Besides, the cost of production must be taken into consideration. For the workingmen of this country to make the cost of an article a bar to its entrance into any market, would be neither politic nor patriotic. Foreign products may compete with domestic, and, as the price of labor is an important item in the cost of an article, so it should receive serious consideration in the councils of the workingmen. And the fact of foreign labor being able to compete with domestic labor, has given birth to the idea of an international labor union, which, however utopian it may at present seem, is none the less desirable. Trans-oceanic telegraph wires are, like nerves, connecting the labor markets of the world, and steam navigation can supply human labor on short notice. A superior industrial condition in any quarter of the globe is a signal for immigration, and unskilled workmen are, like the waves of the sea, tossed backward and forward by some great cause.

The past and continued introduction of labor-saving machinery is brooding disturbances and insecurities for the civilized world. Sooner or later the necessity of industrial reform will force itself upon

the attention of national legislatures. It may take a crisis. The working people of, at least, the United States, through their suffrages, can intercept that crisis. But it is a question whether they will do so. They cannot if they are to be gulled, blinded and divided in the future as they have been in the past. As a consequence of political division, they are now on the smooth grade, drifting toward the bottom of society, into a condition most undesirable. It takes an almost superhuman agency to peaceably stop and turn back a mass of human beings on a down grade tendency. In time, the industrial classes should unitedly act. It is easier to prevent than to cure, and it is easier to resist aristocratic tendencies to-day than to tolerate or dethrone an intended aristocracy to-morrow. In the language (slightly changed) of an address presented under circumstances like the present, to the Signiory of the Florentine Republic, to be found in the works of Machiavelli, "I entreat you to do now, by the mild efficacy of the ballot, what you will, by delay, compel yourselves to do by the power of the sword." And should ever the black and unfortunate day dawn upon the destinies of the American people, when their Republic must make room for a king or an emperor, it will not be because the workingmen had no chance to protect their free institutions, but because they were too stupid to see or too careless to ward off the dangers from their liberties.

But in the meantime the working people may materially better their condition by forming and maintaining trades unions for their government and protection. If Congress will not spread its supreme wing over all the trades, let single trades organize, to lift up their members to a better and higher plane of life.

The intention of unionism is to protect the members from real or supposed imposition from the employer, and to prevent competition among workmen. Hence a trade union to be successful, should comprehend within its membership all that sell a kind of labor, as, for instance, mining labor; and hence a national union of the miners is an absolute necessity for their symmetrical elevation. You tell me that a national association is an impossibility, and I will tell you that the permanent elevation of the miners is an impossibility.

Local unions may be made effective, especially when any trade is isolated, but they should be bridled from extremes. Whenever the price of labor is boosted in one, it rushes the cheaper labor from other sections to drag it down. The means for swift traveling has made the labor markets very nervous. Suppose the wires would flash the news that the Pittsburgh or the Scranton miners are getting ten dollars per day. What would be the result? Thousands of strangers would flock within a week to flood the market and pull the price down to the level of all. And it would make very little

difference how much you would grin and growl, how stubborn the strike, how many wails would go up from the needy and suffering, or how many lives poured out in the conflict, you will find that the law of supply and demand will always come out victorious.

Suppose again that miners are getting five dollars per day, and all other workingmen only three dollars. What would be the consequence? Thousands from other trades would crowd every mine in the country. The farmer would leave his farm to dig coal, the shoemaker his shop, the helper his mill, and the inevitable would be a reduction in the price of mining. Thus with any other kind of labor. Hence the danger of one trade exceeding the prosperity of another. To make any advance permanent and solid at any given location, there must be a proportionate advance in all other trades. Hence the advisable policy for all trades to pull harmoniously together. And if I had my way of running a national union of any trade I would never allow the members to strike for price, I would direct them to cut off the supply, by working fewer hours. The price of labor, like the price of any other commodity, is decreed and regulated by the rate of supply and demand, it cannot be permanently fixed by any man or combination of men, and in a certain condition of the labor market, no number of strikes and lockouts, however stubborn, can altar the figure of their labor.

Instead of blindly striking at the effect we should strike at the cause. We have been trying to kill the poisonous weeds, not by the destructive uprooting process, but by the preservative clipping process. Instead of working with the laws of trade, we have been industriously working against them. This will never do. It is not within the power of man to build an organization that can long with impunity transgress the laws of the universe. Men may for a while, with apparent ease and safety, interfere with the order of nature, but the longer they do the more severe the punishment, and its coming is only a matter of time. Throw up a stone; while that stone ascends it violates the laws of gravitation, but when its force is spent it is hurled back by the same law with a vengeance that would strike dead the man that threw it. Thus it has been with trades unions of the past. Like rockets they have gone up, like rockets they have exploded, but like stones they have fallen to the ground, dealing defeat and disaster upon all.

Now, I couldn't within the compass of this work, trace out the causes for the rise and fall of trades unions. That subject would draw into its consideration the moral, intellectual and financial condition of the masses, and would almost extend to a history of the rise and fall of the people. I have to let that pass with only a mention of one of the reasons.

All unions have tried to regulate the price of labor by a process directly the reverse of that used

by nature. They have been trying to choke the spring by throwing clods on its mouth instead of by undermining its sources. They have all along been endeavoring to sink the floods of labor without closing the valves of supply. It is something like a blind man bailing water from a tank. He sweats and splashes all day. Next morning he goes at it again, and by sunset he may have sunk it two inches from the edge, but by the following morning it runs over. After a little rest he throws off his coat, tightens his belt, and under the force of impulse and excitement, makes another dash and splash, and that man is yet at the tank and the tank is just as full as ever. He does not know that a supply pipe is feeding that tank, and that within his reach there is a little wheel that with a few turns can shut off the water and save him a vast amount of work and worry. That man was blind, and to bel pain, this is about the condition of the miners. We have been ignorant of the laws of trade, like blind men we have been feeling in the dark, and to be plainer still, I don't think that our eyes are yet open to our own interests.

The labor markets of the world are just as flooded as ever. We have been trying to make labor scarce by making it more abundant. We have been trying to lower the troubled waters, but have utterly failed. As in the times of the deluge, we have sent doves out to seek good tidings, but they have returned with no olive leaves in their mouths.

The hills are covered, the valleys of the land lie deep in the floods of labor, organizations have come and gone, labor champions have ranted, workingmen have struck, many a brave but rash man has been penned in prison, others killed in the conflict, yet all have been in vain, as the floods to-day are as high as ever. Like the blind man at the tank, we have been ignorant of the supply pipe pouring into the market more labor than the demand pipe can pour out. As yet we have not seen the wheel of restriction which controls the supply, or having seen it, we have been unable to put it in practice.

Let us do away with petty, local strikes. Let us not waste our funds, energies and time in striking at that which can help us not. Let us combine, let us amalgamate, let us patiently work and wait until all are willing and ready, if it takes three or five years, and some election morning, with a peaceable determination, let us all crowd around the polls to vote for a reduction in the hours of labor, release the body from one-fifth of its toils, give one-fifth more time and attention to the cultivation of the mind, then our emancipation will be achieved, our independence secured, and the gradual elevation of the workingmen of the United States guaranteed.

And now you may say that it is impossible to control the masses, and hence utopian and tantalizing for me to talk about an eight-hour law. In reply I will say, that if it is impossible to control the workingmen of this country, it will be impossible to

reduce the hours of labor. It must be done generally, it cannot be done locally. For one section to attempt a reduction alone, would be to commit an industrial suicide. It won't do for either operative or operator. We must have a national organization, and if we can't go to work to form and maintain a strong national association to control the supply of labor, put it down as a certainty that we can't regulate the labor market, and if we can't control the labor market we can't control the price, and if we can't control the price we will always be at the mercy of the winds and storms of the social sea, sometimes above and sometimes beneath the crest of the wave, and gradually the workingmen will sink to the bottom, and, because they can't go farther, they will be kept there to grovel in poverty, ignorance and servitude.

Long hours with labor-saving machinery is degrading, shorter hours work with labor-saving machinery, would elevate labor, morally, intellectually and financially.

Now, can we establish and maintain a national labor or political organization? The answer to this question involves the consideration of the moral and intellectual condition of the masses. What of the past? We have failed. What of the future? Let us hope for the best.

EDUCATION.

Let us go to work with a will to better our mental

condition. Intelligence is needed and necessary. Enlightenment is essential to the growth and safety of our republic. We must have more light. Workingmen are being hurried through life without seeing any of its beauties or tasting its pleasures. Nature is impartial, and spreads before all an unlimited store of pleasure. But we must delve for it. No study, no pleasure, is a rule of nature. Zoology will uncover the curiosities of the animal, and minology will reveal the structures of the mineral kingdom. Botany unfolds the beauties of the vegetable world, the buds and blossoms of spring, the flowers of summer and the tints of autumn.

The study of nature expands the intellect, softens and sweetens the heart, and lifts the whole man up from the material and coarse to the spiritual and the beautiful. Fewer hours' labor and more study should be the workingman's motto. Astronomy would turn your eyes toward the stars, and wing your thoughts to the realms of space, to meditate on the grand organization of the universe. The pebbles and the rocks have attractions, and the streams, pushing their way over brush and stone, teach lessons of prudence and perseverance. Scholars have crept into coal mines, to seek pleasure from the order and nature of strata, and more pleasure can be extracted from our surroundings than many workingmen have ever dreamed of. Buy a geology, go home at three to study it, and next morning every slip and slate and slide will yield pleasure to the

mind. The work of the miner, in the dark pit, where nature has stored the useful minerals, can be made as pleasurable as that of the painter. Mingle more of the intellectual with the physical in the labor cup, and the life of the wage-worker will become a joy, instead of a tolerable burden. Less of the pick and shovel for the body, and more reading and reflection for the mind, is what the miner badly needs.

Books culture, pictures refine, and music divines the human soul. A bare and cheerless house chills the loftiest aspirations, but a comfortable, beautiful home prompts thoughts that tend to elevate human nature.

The perusal of a biography may kindle and fan a spark of emulation in the breast of some poor man's boy, that may lift and lead him to become the benefactor of his class. The study of physiology or a few health primers will arm the family with cautions and preventatives against sickness, frequently ward off disease and death from the sacred precincts of home, and prevents many a fever and plague that are now sacreligiously attributed to the visitations of Providence.

History will unfold the checkered experiences of the past, lead us through the graveyard of nations, relate the causes of their rise and fall, from what cause or misfortune this or that government perished, teach the omens of national danger, make us more vigilant about our rights and liberties, and

vastly more competent to safely guide our country through the perils and mutations of the future.

The population of this country is composed of many elements from the nations of Europe, where the masses have no chance to learn anything but submission to arrogant masters. If there is any lack of intelligence among our naturalized citizens it is not because we are more stupid, but because unfortunately we have been oppressed and held in ignorance by the monarchial and imperial system of the old world. And although here, in a new and liberal world, far from the oppression of kings and landlords, yet the effects, like leaden weights, weigh down our lives, tending to drag us into dependent and servile conditions. These effects are to be worn away by time, with patience and by contact with the privileges and benefits of free institutions. And if this generation cannot entirely wear away from its existence the last link of European despotism, surely in a land of free schools, free press and free church, the coming and rising generations can be reared up to become intelligent, temperate and independent.

Educate the youth. As it is easier to bend the plant than the tree, so is it easier to train up the child to studious and temperate habits than to reform an ignorant and a dissolute man. Our country is not safe, neither can labor be properly protected, while both are enveloped in the clouds. The former will have her plunderers, the latter her extortioners,

while neither can see the approach, or understand the crafty operations of its enemies.

When the night is dark, the robber is bold, neither, when heard, can he be easily seen nor caught, but when the night is clear, and studded with many stars, the thief grows timid, can be easily seen and caught; so when the night that broods over the destinies of the masses becomes studded with thousands of greater and lesser intellectual lights, the public plunderer and the private extortionist can be the more easily shadowed and arrested, and will then less easily escape the odium and punishment which such malefactors justly deserve. Intelligence is the first condition of personal independence, it is the only preservative of liberty, and human rights are safe and unencroachable only when under the keen and vigilant eye of an enlightened public.

It is never too late to mend man's condition, but at some time there must be a beginning.

Reforms travel slowly, and what this generation would begin must be completed centuries hence. Be careful of the little boy and girl that to-day fondles around you. Be jealous of the minds of the children, for their hopes and the hopes of our republic are wrapped up in their education. Send them to school, give them a chance to know more than their fathers, and to become intelligent and influential citizens. Don't neglect the mind of the boy by allowing him to run round the alluring streets. Don't chill his aspirations by refusing him a book,

and don't blast perhaps the budding genius of a Washington, a Lincoln, a Gladstone or an Emmett, by taking your ten year old boy from the school desk into the mine or factory. I have seen little boys, early in the morning, going to the pit, scarcely able to carry their dinner buckets, and truly unable to keep them from truckling on the ground. I have seen other little boys leaving school when the work started up, with tears glistening in their bright eyes, because "papa" must take them from their books into the coal mine. I felt that some of these boys would rise up to become scholars, and brilliant leaders, if left at school; but I shall never hear of them any more; premature manual labor has stunted and dwarfed their intellects, and dependence has buried them forever in the great sea of humanity. As the buoys rise above the water, and are better seen when tossed by the waves, so some of these little children would have risen above the common level, and amid the constant surging of human affairs, climb into distinction and fame.

But the heartless poverty entailed upon many families by the present unjust discriminative social constitutions, compels parents to remove their children from the elevating influences of schools and books, into the influences of the mine and factory, that, to the young, cannot but be degrading, thereby not only blasting the aspirations and hopes, but also dooming the maturer mind of the rising generation to become a barren and a cheerless waste, product-

ive of nothing save suspicion, prejudices, superstitions, and everything that makes anything but a responsible and an independent citizen.

As great a support as your boy may be to the family, and however hard it may be to take him from the pit, I wish to state my opinion that such policy can not pay in the end, and I hereby record my solemn protest against any miner blasting the hopes of his boy by putting him into the pit before he is fourteen years of age. Nature alone will yield about as many blockheads as is necessary; man need not manufacture any, and, if your boy is to be one, it is time enough to settle that point when he becomes fourteen years of age. Don't settle it as soon as he can walk.

Send the children to school. Remember that in fifteen years from now they will be men and women, and that the mental condition of the wage population of twenty years hence will have almost everything to do with the then social and financial status of the masses of the United States. We must read, reflect and think more for ourselves. We should be more independent; that is to say, no workingman should allow himself to be turned or tossed by every breath that comes from shriveled lips of passion. The sopistry of the educated, as well as the rantings of the ignorant are equally dangerous. The citizen should be proof against both, and the judgment should not be blinded by either.

Ignorance is the overpowering and unrelenting

enemy of labor. It is the mill-stone that has dragged and is holding the laboring masses to the bottom of society, and it is the dense and black curtain behind which corrupt and crafty politicians are daily laying the wires, writing appeals and weaving sophistries to mislead, divide and entrap the masses into the meshes of poverty, dependence and subjection. Ignorance is the tree of evil, the pet tree of every devotee of the odious doctrine of "the divine right of kings" to rule and rob the common people. Autocrats, emperors, monarchs, and the entire lazy line of aristocrats that, from time immemorial, have been fattening themselves on the substance of the hard-working men of every land; all these, who so arrogantly and profanely call themselves lords, are, and always have been the zealous friends of ignorance, and the sincere foes of popular education. Ignorance is the lash with which the oppressors of mankind have cowed the poor into subjection, driven them from deserved homes of pleasure into the huts and shanties of poverty, forced them to live amid the rags and crumbs of want, streaked the past with the poor men's blood, rent the hearts of the poor men's wives and children, and, to satisfy personal revenge and ambition, they have made history almost a serial tale of war, suffering and woe.

Had intelligence been as thick and as universal as ignorance, kings could never have made, out of innocent men, such bloody instruments.

From the tree of ignorance emanate secretions

which poison the sources of happiness; behind its trunk skulk the enemies of labor; among its leaves hide the malignant insects of jealousy, prejudice and envy, and around its roots lurk the envenomed snakes of malice. These are always watching for a chance to belie the intentions, to desparage the worth, to blacken the character of great and good men, and with their fangs quivering in every direction, they seek the best time and place to hiss deadly poison into the pure streams of mutual confidence.

These are the pliable instruments that cunning and unscrupulous manipulators use to break up labor organizations, divide the workingmen at the polls, and through such means have the avaricious successfully foisted upon the poor and unlearned of every age, laws which played governments into the hands of the few, and which have caused the decay and the destruction of all past republics. We must uproot and kill these evils. They are the malignant enemies of labor and the republic. Like poisonous weeds, they choke the little germs of organization. They infect all nationalities. Everywhere they scatter seeds of discord among the workingmen, and they have abandoned labor and the republic to the sport and prey of monopolies and corruption. They contaminate virtue, adulterate the fellowship of the union; like a cancer they eat into the workingmen's common bond of interest, and these things they do in proportion to the ignorance in which the mind

is enveloped. As the approach and the ascendancy of the sun hurries the murderer and thief to his den, drives into their hiding places the prowling beasts of night, pierces the veiling clouds, and sheds equal light and sunshine on the pathways of rich and poor, so will the approach and ascendancy of general intelligence expel extortion and poverty from the homes of the masses, uproot their prejudices and suspicions, mitigate their dissensions, and vastly better enable them to discriminate, select and demand those laws which are 'most likely to work out the most happiness to the greatest number.

Popular education is the lever that is to elevate labor. As long as good schools dot the hill-sides, and are the objects of vigilance and solicitude in the cities, and as long as the masses are kept in such a financial condition as to comfortably enable them to send their children to school until at least fourteen years of age, there will remain substantial hopes for the preservation and perfection of representative governments, and the gradual elevation of the masses.

As heirs to this costly legacy of freedom, we should be more thoughtful and conscientious under the grave responsibilities which the republic imposes upon every citizen. The establishment and unity of this nation has cost a vast amount of blood and treasure; its preservation and improvement will probably cost a great deal more; but when, after all that has and can be expended, posterity will set-

tle down to balance accounts, they will find that a great and genuine republic, flourishing on the western hemisphere, is worth every sacrifice of blood and treasure, to the liberation and the elevation of the human race. The hopes of the friends of liberty everywhere centre on our country, toward the first century of our experience they turn for example, precept and inspiration, and the irresistible current of liberal ideas, which constantly flows from our schools and literature is irrigating foreign fields of political thought, gradually wearing away the arbitrary governments of the old world, and as gradually laying in their stead the ground ideas on which liberated peoples are to rear up the grand superstructures of republics.

As citizens invested with unparalleled political privileges, we should be anxious for the retention in the public conscience of the natural and revealed partitions between right and wrong, upon which justice, public integrity and security rests, and as members of one universal family, to whom the experiment of self-government has been sacredly entrusted, we should be more independent and vigilant for the correction, the improvement, and the approximation of our republic to that ideal representative government, which, for the least sacrifice of personal liberty, will return the most happiness to the greatest number of its people.

APPENDIX.

I subjoin the following suggestions:

1st.—That where any industrial establishment has a fair prospect of existing five years, the workingmen shall erect a suitable two-story building at some convenient and central location, the first floor to be occupied by a workingmen's co-operative store and the second story to be kept for the workingmen's Library, Literary, Debating, Beneficial and Protective Association.

2d.—That the Co-operative Store be incorporated under the laws of the Commonwealth.

3d.—That the treasurer be put under heavy bonds.

4th.—That the store be conducted on the Roch-

dale plan. That is to say: the net proceeds shall be divided in proportion to amount purchased by each individual.

5th.—That the Literary and Debating Association shall meet at least twice every calender month.

6th.—That the workingmen's children shall be trained up to declaim, read, compose and debate.

7th.—That under the government of the Literary Association, males and females shall have equal privileges.

8th.—That in the Library all kinds of non-sectarian, pure books shall be kept.

9th.—That all sorts of non-sectarian periodicals and newspapers be kept on file.

10th.—That the number of papers of each political party be kept always equal.

11th.—That the building, together with all appurtenances, shall be held in trust by the workingmen, entirely under their control, and especially used for their financial and intellectual elevation.

12th.—That workingmen be always encouraged to combine small savings, to lease or purchase the material and machinery, run their own industries, and divide the net profits among themselves.

PRECEDENCE AND NATURE OF MOTIONS.

Class.	NAME.				No. of Section.	Debatable.	Amendable.
Subsidiary. Incident'l Priv'ge.	Motion to adjourn,	-	-	-	137	not	not
	Personal privilege motions,	-	-	-	141	is	not
	Orders of the day,	-	-	-	142	is	not
	To appeal,	-	-	-	154	is	not
	To read papers,	-	-	-	160	is	not
	To withdraw another motion,	-	-	-	161	is	not
	To suspend rules,	-	-	-	163	is	not
	To lay on the table,	-	-	-	171	is	not
	a, To previous question,	-	-	a b c e	174	not	not
	b, To postpone indefinitely,	-	-	a b c e	176	is	is
	c, To commit,	-	-	a b c	182	is	is
	d, To postpone definitely,	-	-	a b	185	is	is
	e, To amend an amendment.	-	-	a b e	186	is	not

EXPLANATION OF TABLE.

The motions a, b, c, d and e, are inferior to all above them, but partly equal among themselves.

All motions with "a" opposite are equals, and for these the rule is, first made, first put; so with motions with "b" opposite, &c. When there are no letters denoting quality between two or more, all motions take precedence absolutely in the order arranged.

The numbers refer to section in manual.

The words "is" and "not" state nature of motion, whether debatable or amendable.

The foregoing table was carefully compiled from Cushing's small manual to explain a lecture upon "Parliamentary Law," delivered before the miners of Six-Mile Ferry, during the winter of 1879. It may be serviceable to workingmen in their deliberations, and with this hope it is appended.





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